

CODEBOOK. FATALITIES OF REVOLUTIONARY TERRORIST ORGANIZATIONS IN THE DEVELOPED WORLD, 1970-2000.

The present dataset contains all the killings by revolutionary terrorist organizations during the period 1970-2000. The unit of observation is the victim, not the attack. Terrorists who die manipulating their own explosives are not included, for they are not victims (no one kills them). However, terrorists who are killed by members of their own organization or by rival organizations are included.

I have distinguished between terrorism and street political violence. The boundary is indeed fuzzy, but it was necessary to make a distinction between those killings carried out by organizations, which are planned to a certain degree, and “spontaneous” killings carried out by mobs or gangs. In a typical killing of street violence, there is a fight between police and demonstrators and some of them kill a policeman. Or there is a street fight between members of rival groups and some of them are killed. Very often, these killings are produced without firearms. Although it represents a different case, I have also excluded the three killings by Unabomber in the USA, on the grounds that he was an isolated individual rather than an organization.

One contentious case I have also excluded is the killing of Kenneth Witty in Greece. According to some sources, he was killed by the Revolutionary Organization 17 November, but according to other sources he was killed by Palestinian terrorists (in which case, it is an instance of transnational, national liberation terrorism rather than domestic, revolutionary one.)

Variables

NOTE: NF stands for “Not found” and it always has value -99 except in the string variables, where it stands as “NF”).

Year: Year of the attack.

Month: Month of the attack.

Day: Day of the attack (even if the victim died some time later).

Name: First and last name of the victim, when available.

City: City of the attack. In the case of the United States, the State is reported. In the case of Japan, the Prefecture is reported. This is a string variable.

Country: Country in which the terrorist organization is based.

- 1 Belgium
- 2 Denmark
- 3 France
- 4 Germany (former West Germany)
- 5 Greece
- 6 Italy
- 7 Japan
- 8 Portugal
- 9 Spain
- 10 United States

Status: Status of the victim:

- 1 Military
- 2 Police forces
- 3 Entrepreneurs
- 4 Paramilitaries
- 5 Politicians and public officials
- 6 Other civilians

Note: Police forces include private police.

Authorship:

- 100 *Cellules Communistes Combattantes* (CCC) (Fighting Combatant Cells)
- 200 *Blekingegadebanden*
- 300 *Action Directe* (AD) (Direct Action)
- 301 *Brigades Internationales* (International Brigades)
- 302 *Noyaux Armés pour l'Autonomie Populaire* (NAPAP) (New Army for Popular Autonomy)
- 400 *Rote Armee Fraktion* (RAF) (Red Army Faction)
- 401 *Die Bewegung 2.juni* (2nd June Movement)
- 402 *Rote Zora* (RZ)
- 500 *Epanastatiki Organossi 17 Noemvri* (Revolutionary Organization 17 November)
- 501 *Epanastatikos Laikos Agonas* (Greek People's Liberation Army)
- 502 *Group June 1978*
- 503 *Revolutionary Organization 1st May*
- 600 *Brigate Rosse* (BR) (Red Brigades)
- 601 *Brigate Rosse – Partito della Guerriglia* (Red Brigades – Guerrilla Party)
- 602 *Brigate Rosse – Partito Comunista Combatente* (Red Brigadas – Fighting Communist Party)
- 603 *Brigate Rosse – Walter Alasia* (Red Brigadas – Walter Alasia)
- 604 *Prima Linea* (PL) (Front Line)
- 605 *Guerriglia Comunista* (Communist Guerrilla)
- 606 *Proletari Amati per il Comunismo* (PAC) (Armed Proletarians for Communism)
- 607 *Formazioni Comunista Combatenti* (Fighting Communist Groups)

- 608 *Nuclei Armati Proletari* (Armed Proletarian Groups)
- 609 *Lotta Armata per il Comunismo* (Armed Struggle for Communism)
- 610 *Comitati Comunisti Rivoluzionario* (Revolutionary Communist Committees)
- 611 *Brigata XXVIII Marzo* (28 March Brigade)
- 612 *Barbagio Rossa* (Red Beard)
- 613 *Nucleo di Comunisti* (Communist Nucleus)
- 614 *Comunisti Organizzati per la Liberazione Proletaria* (Communists Organized for the Proletariat Liberation)
- 615 *Unione dei Comunisti Combattenti* (Union of Communist Combatants)
- 616 *Gruppo XXII Ottobre* (22 October Group)
- 617 *Gruppo d'Azione Partigiana* (GAP) (Partisan Action Group)
- 618 *Brigate Comunista Combattenti* (Fighting Communist Brigade)
- 619 *Squadre Proletarie di Combattimenti* (Fighting Proletarian Squad)
- 620 *Guerriglia Proletaria* (Proletarian Guerrilla)
- 621 *Formazioni Comuniste Armate* (Armed Communist Formations)
- 622 *Nuclei Comuniste Territoriali* (Territorial Communist Groups)
- 623 *Colonna Fabrizio Pelli* (Fabrizio Pelli Colony)
- 624 *Ronde Armate Proletarie* (Proletarian Armed Squad)
- 625 *Brigata Operaria per il Comunismo* (Worker Brigade for Communism)
- 626 *Potere Rosso* (Red Power)
- 627 *Potere Proletario Armato* (Armed Proletarian Power)
- 700 *Rengo Sekigun* (United Red Army)
- 701 EAAJA (East Asian Anti-Japan Armed Front)
- 702 *Kakumaru-ha* (Revolutionary Marxist Faction)
- 703 *Chukaku-ha* (Middle Core Faction)
- 704 *Hazama*
- 705 *Sekiei-tai* (Red Guard)
- 800 *Forças Populares 25 de Abril* (FP25) (25 April Popular Forces)
- 801 *Brigadas Revolucionarias* (Revolutionary Brigades)
- 900 *Grupos Revolucionarios Antifascistas Primero de Octubre* (GRAPO) (1 October Antifascist Revolutionary Groups)
- 901 *Frente Revolucionario Antifascista y Patriota* (FRAP) (Patriot Antifascist Revolutionary Front)
- 902 *Movimiento Ibérico de Liberación* (MIL) (Iberian Liberation Movement)
- 903 *Grupo Colectivo Hoz y Martillo* (Collective Group Sickle and Hammer)
- 1000 Symbionese Liberation Army (SLA)
- 1001 New Year's Gang
- 1002 Venceremos Organizations
- 1003 Tuller Family
- 1004 Revolutionary Armed Task Force
- 1005 United Freedom Front
- 1006 Black Liberation Army
- 1200 Not identified revolutionary organization

Note: in some cases, it is known that the killing was done by some revolutionary group, but either there is not a claim, or there are multiple claims, or the police and the justice have not solved the crime. These cases have value 1200 in the authorship variable.

Typeofkilling:

- 1 Shooting
- 2 Car bomb
- 3 Booby trap
- 4 Other bombs
- 5 Others (stabbing, burning, etcetera)

Sources of information

Existing datasets on terrorism are based on information drawn from newspaper and news agencies. For the purpose of large-n comparisons, this is perhaps the only feasible way to collect data. However, if the number of countries is not very high, other sources of information can be employed. In the case of left-wing terrorism in developed countries, the sample only includes 23 countries and the number of fatalities is relatively low. Thus, it was decided to track each killing, gathering as much information as possible about lethal victims.

Whenever it was possible, national sources in six different languages (English, French, German, Italian, Spanish and Portuguese) were used: newspapers, national chronologies, documents written by terrorist organizations (or by their political, legal branches), and data collected by victims associations.

Regarding internet, many non-English sites have been consulted. Given the problem of the reliability of information (there are web pages written by sympathizers and enemies of the terrorist organization), every fact has been cross-checked in as many web sites as possible. National on-line datasets have been crucial in the countries with the highest toll of fatalities (Italy and Spain). The last checking of all internet sites that are referred to below took place on 21/09/2007.

Secondary sources are also an invaluable source of information. There are monographs for the most important terrorist organizations that usually include appendixes with chronologies and with exhaustive relations of all terrorist acts.

A more detailed list of sources for each country with at least one fatality comes next. Countries with no fatalities are not included in the list, although a systematic search looking for fatalities has been carried for each of these countries.

1. Belgium

Internet sources:

<http://www.resistances.be/tueurs1.html>. This is an exhaustive chronology of both right- and left-wing violence in Belgium for the period 1971-89.

<http://www.cellulescommunistescombattantes.be/chronologie.htm>. A full chronology of the Fighting Communist Cells (CCC) included in CCC's web page.

Secondary sources:

Alexander and Pluchinsky (1992: Ch.7), Jenkins (1990), Laufer (1988).

2. Denmark

Internet sources:

<http://da.wikipedia.org/wiki/Blekingegade-sagen>. A Wikipedia article in Danish on the Blekingegade Gang.

Secondary sources:

Arnheim (2003).

3. France

Internet sources:

<http://archivescommunistes.chez-alice.fr/nac-fs/fs11.html>. A highly detailed chronology of Action Directe's actions, in a Maoist web page.

Secondary sources:

Cerny (1981), Dartnell (1995), Schrifes (2004). Both Dartnell and Schrifes provide exhaustive chronologies of the left-wing violence in France.

4. Germany

Internet sources:

<http://www.baader-meinhof.com/timeline/index.htm>. A full chronology of the Red Army Faction in the most comprehensive web site about this terrorist organization.

<http://www.nadir.org/nadir/archiv/PolitischeStroemungen/Stadtguerilla+RAF/RAF/brd+raf/056.html>. A full chronology in German of actions and documents by the RAF.

http://www.bewegung.in/mate_chronologie.html. A full chronology of all the actions by the 2nd June Movement in a web page created by the heirs of this organization.

<http://www.corsipo.de/>. An online dataset with all German police officials killed since 1961.

<http://www.etext.org/Politics/Arm.The.Spirit/Guerrilla/Europe/Rote.Zora/mini-herstory.1988>. An anonymous document written by an activist about the Revolutionary Cells and Rote Zora. It contains references to the actions carried out by these minor terrorist organizations.

Secondary sources:

Feldman (1998). This book is a list of all killings by revolutionary terrorist organizations in Germany for the period 1967-93. Reinders and Fritsch (1995) contains a full chronology of actions by the terrorist organization 2nd June Movement.

5. Greece

Secondary sources:

Kassimeris (2001: Appendix 1) contains a full chronology of all attacks by the Revolutionary Organization 17th November. Corsun (1991) contains another chronology of attacks, although a less complete one.

6. Italy

Internet sources:

<http://www.cedost.it/>. Web page of the of the *Centro di Documentazione Storico Politica su Stragismo, Terrorism e Violenza Politica*. Under the heading 'Portale della Memoria', it contains an on-line dataset with the most detailed description of all political violence since Second World War.

<http://www.fondazionecipriani.it/>. Web page of the *Fondazione Luigi Cipriani*. It provides a highly detailed chronology of political violence in Italy since 1943.

<http://www.vittimeterrorismo.it/memorie/memorie.htm>. Web page of the *Associazione Italiana Vittime del Terrorismo*. It contains a chronology with an entry for each victim. It is not exhaustive, but there is highly detailed information about the victims included.

<http://digilander.libero.it/gianni61dgl/attentati.htm>. This web page contains another detailed chronology of all terrorist attacks (both left-wing and right-wing) in Italy.

Secondary sources:

Curcio (1995) is a collective work with an entry for each victim of Italian revolutionary organizations. It contains very detailed (though incomplete) information. Calvi, Ceci, Sessa and Vasaturo (2003) is a comprehensive chronology of all political violence for the period 1945-2003. Casamassima (2007) has an exhaustive chronology of the Red Brigades' actions.

7. Japan

Internet sources:

<http://www.bordersphere.com/chrono/chrono.php4>. This contains a detailed chronology of left-wing political violence for the period 1940-1990.

Secondary sources: Asai and Arnold (2003), Farrell (1990), Katzenstein and Tsujinaka (1991), Steinhoff (1989).

8. Portugal

Newspapers:

Systematic searches of the Spanish newspaper *El Pais* (www.elpais.es) for the period 1979-87 and punctual searches of the Portuguese newspaper *Correio da Manhà* (www.correioanha.pt).

Secondary sources:

Barra da Costa (2004) is the most comprehensive study on the 25th April Popular Forces, but it does not provide a detailed chronology. De Sousa (1992) is a memoir written by a former recruit with information about certain killings.

9. Spain

Internet sources:

<http://www.avt.org/>. This is the web page of the main Spanish Victim Association. It contains an on-line dataset with all the victims of terrorist violence in Spain since 1960.

Newspapers:

Systematic searches of the Spanish newspaper *El Pais* (www.elpais.es) since 1976 and *ABC* for the 1970-6 period.

Secondary sources:

Castro (2000) is a Ph.D. thesis on GRAPO, with a highly detailed chronology of actions. Gómez (1991) and Novales (1989) contain further information about GRAPO. Pulgar (2004) includes a list prepared by the Spanish Ministry of Interior with all victims of political violence in Spain.

10. United States

Internet sources:

<http://www.odmp.org/>. This is the Officer Down Memorial Page, which contains an on-line dataset with all police officers who have been killed.

<http://www.thetalkingdrum.com/freedomfighters.html>. This is a web page sympathetic to the Black Liberation Army that reproduces an Justice Department Report with BLA activity for the period 1970-76.

http://www.geocities.com/jiggy2000_us/BGF. An anonymous source containing a detailed chronology about the BLA, the People's Army and the Symbionese Liberation Army.

<http://ocrscans.homestead.com/housereport.html>. This is a report prepared for the Committee on Internal Security of the House of Representatives in 1974 about the Symbionese Liberation Army.

<http://www.rickcross.com/reference/symbionese/symbionese17.html>. A detailed chronology of all actions by the Symbionese Liberation Army.

<http://www.madison.com/library/LEE/sterlinghall>. A web-page dedicated to the Sterling bombing at University of Wisconsin that killed one person.

Newspapers:

The Washington Post was checked during July 1975 to find information about the killings of the Tuller family.

Secondary sources:

Hewitt (2003) is the most complete reference for domestic terrorism in the US.

References

Alexander, Yonah and Dennis A. Pluchinsky. 1992. *Europe's Red Terrorists: The Fighting Communist Organizations*. London: Frank Cass.

Arnheim, Arthur. 2003. "Anti-Semitism after the Holocaust – Also in Denmark." *Jewish Political Studies Review* 15 (3-4).

Asai, Yasufumi and Jeffrey L. Arnold. 2003. "Terrorism in Japan." *Prehospital and Disaster Medicine* 18 (3): 106-14.

Barra da Costa, José. 2004. *O Terrorismo e as FP 25 Anos Depois*. Lisboa: Colibri.

Calvi, Mauricio, Alessandro Ceci, Angelo Sessa and Giulio Vasaturo. 2003. *Le date del terrore*. Roma: Luca Sossella.

Casamassima, Pino. 2007. *Il Libro Nero delle Brégate Rosse*. Roma: Newton Compton Editori.

Castro, Lorenzo. 2000. *Terrorismo y afirmación revolucionaria: el caso PCE(r)-GRAPO*. Ph.D. thesis, Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia, Madrid.

Cerny, Philip G. 1981. "France: Non-Terrorism and the Politics of Repressive Tolerance." In Juliet Lodge (ed) *Terrorism: A Challenge to the State*, pp. 91-118. New York: St.Martin's Press.

Corsun, Andrew. 1991. "Group Profile: The Revolutionary Organization 17 November in Greece". *Terrorism*, 14: 77-104.

Curcio, Renato, ed. 1995. *La Mappa Perduta*. Roma: Sensibili alle Foglie.

Dartnell, Michael Y. 1995. *Action Directe. Ultra-Left Terrorism in France, 1977-1987*. London. Frank Cass.

De Sousa, Manuel Ricardo. 1992. *Guerrilha no asfalto. As FP-25 e o tempo português*. Coimbra: Fora do Texto.

Farrell, William R. 1990. *Blood and Rage. The Story of the Japanese Red Army*. Lexington, MA: Lexington Books.

Feldmann, Hans-Peter. 1998. *1967-1993. Die Toten*. Düsseldorf: Feldmann Verlag.

Gómez, Rafael. 1991. *GRAPO. Los hijos de Mao*. Madrid: Fundamentos.

Hewitt, Christopher. 2003. *Understanding Terrorism in America. From the Klan to Al Qaeda*. London: Routledge.

Jenkins, Philip. 1990. "Strategy of Tension: The Belgian Terrorist Crisis 1982-1986." *Terrorism* 13: 299-309.

Katzenstein, Peter J. and Yutaka Tsujinaka. 1991. *Defending the Japanese State. Structures, Norms and the Political Responses to Terrorism and Violent Social Protest in the 1970s and 1980s*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Laufer, David. 1988. "The Evolution of Belgian Terrorism." In Juliet Lodge (ed) *The Threat of Terrorism*, pp.179-211. Brighton: Wheatsheaf Books.

Kassimeris, George. 2001. *Europe's Last Red Terrorists. The Revolutionary Organization 17 November*. London: Hurst.

Novalés, Felix. 1989. *El tazón de hierro. Memoria personal de un militante de los GRAPO*. Barcelona: Crítica.

Pulgar, Belen. 2004. *Víctimas del Terrorismo. 1968-2004*. Madrid: Dykinson.

Reinders, Ralf and Ronald Fritsch. 1995. *Die Bewegung 2.Juni*. Berlin: Edition ID-Archiv.

Schifres, Sebastien. 2004. *La Mouvance Autonome en France de 1976 a 1984*. Memoire de Maitrise, Universite Paris X. [Available at <http://sebastien.schifres.free.fr/>]

Steinhoff, Patricia G. 1989. "Hijackers, Bombers, and Bank Robbers: Managerial Style in the Japanese Red Army". *The Journal of Asian Studies*, 48: 724-40.